I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

mould. The plant is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*ka shirie*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. Kachu.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data.

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants.

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects.

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious.

4. **Betelnut.**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per acre.

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásis—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74. 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73. 1s. 2d.

A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklao, and one near Jírang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

at Dárjiling who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cow, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. The *mahsír* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and the Brahmputra. Each State in the Khási Hills and each dolloiship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khási States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khási Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahálls* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *pán* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-soh-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wâr-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wâr-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wâr-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wâr-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wâr-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wâr-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wâr people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wâr-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shniw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.